

PEACE NEWS

GANDHI IS DEAD

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

Europe's New Look

MANY who listened to the Foreign Affairs debate last month must have felt that the Prime Minister was a little behind-times, not to say slow-in-the-up-take, if he really meant what he said: "There is a danger of the world being divided into ideological camps. . . There is a general wish to know what the object of Russia is. . ."

No doubt it is part of a Prime Minister's job to be tactful, and there is no need to suppose that Mr. Attlee is really quite as innocent, or ignorant, as these words suggest. If he

COMMENTARY

by

BRUCE ODSPUR

is, then Mr. Bevin ought quietly to take him aside and tell him the facts of life. But the horrible suspicion keeps forcing its way into one's mind that the Foreign Secretary himself may be an anachronism!

It is true that in the debate Mr. Bevin made no bones about the Soviet intention to communise western Europe; it is true that he made play with the project of a "western union": but how much of this was seriously considered, how much designed primarily for American consumption?

A "western union" to hold Communist expansion in check involves at least two conceptions: that of a joint agency to plan the economic recovery of western Europe (with its overseas dependencies) as a whole—eliminating those areas of dereliction and envy upon which Communism thrives like fireweed in a bombed site; and that of a joint agency to plan a concerted foreign policy, binding upon the nations concerned. The realisation of both these conceptions would imply a substantial surrender of national sovereignty; it would, in fact, be tantamount to the creation of a United States of Europe.

Any serious consideration of the two, however, must lead to the conclusion that the second takes precedence over the first. As long as any possibility remains of the West European States pursuing contradictory foreign policies—and Soviet Russia playing off one against another—the economic recovery of this or that country will be retarded.

Glaring example

THE most glaring example of this is Germany. The planned reconstruction of Europe as a whole is

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

LET NEW ANGLO-RUSSIAN TALKS BE GANDHI'S MEMORIAL

"There is only one worthy offering we can make to his (Gandhi's) memory. We are at feud with the Russians. Let us, then, in Gandhi's name, approach them with an offer to talk over our differences and try to discover a road to peace. If Pandit Nehru would consent to act as host it might begin with an informal talk in Delhi between spokesmen of the two Governments, preferably men who have not been involved in their public quarrels.

"They might consider disarmament. They might try first to discover ways of easing the tension between us. What matters is not to draw up an agenda, but to express our willingness to talk. What we do, let us do quickly, while the memory of this great man is fresh."

H. N. BRAILSFORD, Reynolds News (Feb. 1, 1948).

By VERA BRITTAIN

called W.O.M.A.N. for resistance to war by "the Mothers of All Nations." Given sufficient authority, such men as Mr. J. B. Priestley, whose work is read and respected in Russia, would

be far better negotiators than statesmen. Have the statesmen enough magnanimity and foresight to leave the job to him and his like? And what is the peace movement going to do about it?

THIS is one of the first constructive proposals to lighten the deepening gloom of Anglo-Russian relations. I believe that the whole British and American peace movement, without any delay or hesitation, should put all its strength behind this suggestion.

Here at last is an opportunity to throw off our post-war lethargy and defeatism; to reconcile our trivial differences; to abandon our preoccupation with the mere symptoms of international sickness such as British peace-time conscription, and unite in a courageous endeavour to change the direction in which history is moving.

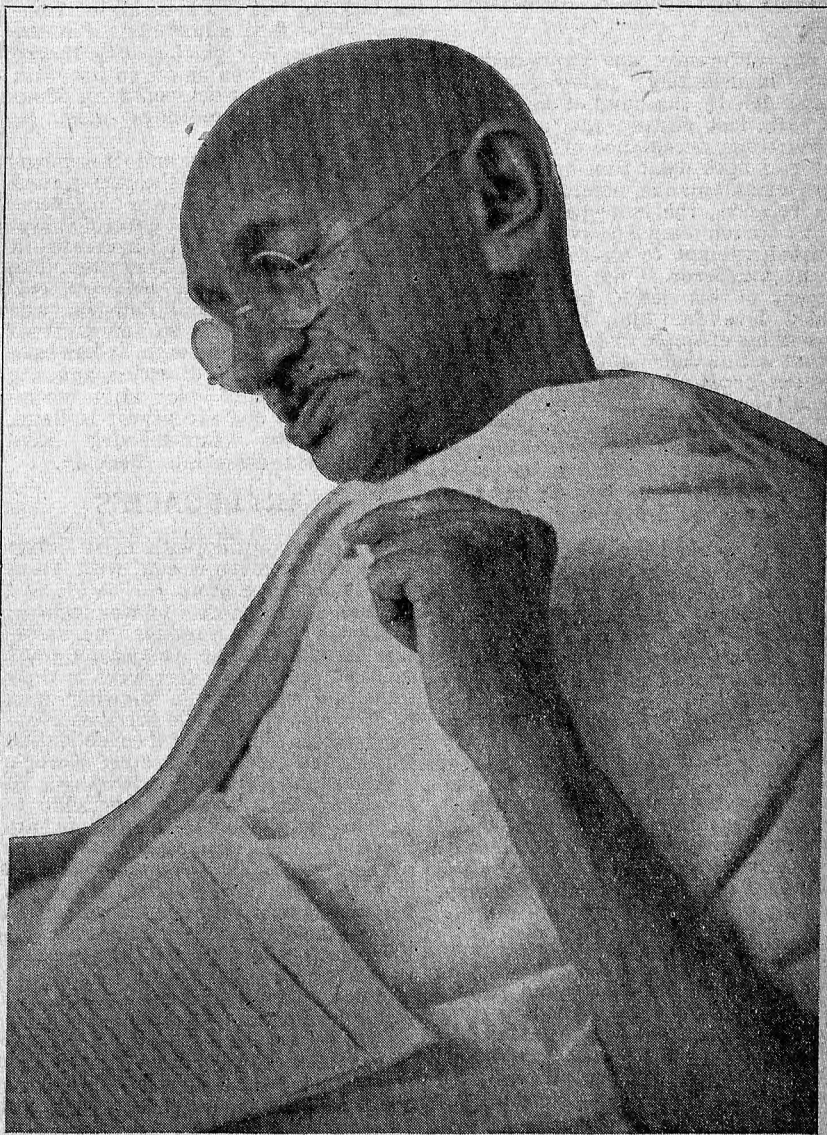
NEHRU AS SPONSOR

I hope that British and Russian statesmen will be great enough to take immediate advantage of this suggestion. I can think of no tribute which the Mahatma would have valued more than a sincere attempt to compose Anglo-Russian differences, and I cannot imagine Pandit Nehru refusing to sponsor such an endeavour. His own relations with Russia are good, and his distinguished sister, Mrs. Pandit, is now Indian Ambassador to Moscow.

Such talks should, I think, also include responsible representatives of the United States, even if they came only as consultants. Fear always exists in direct proportion to the amount that a nation has to lose, and for this reason America today appears to be more afraid of Russia than Britain. She is certainly much more powerful, and infinitely more capable of precipitating war.

TASK FOR WOMEN

When Mr. Brailsford says "men who have not been involved in their public quarrels," I imagine that he would not necessarily wish to confine government spokesmen to statesmen, and I assume from his past history that he would not exclude women. Mrs. Pandit would certainly have an important role to play in such talks, and valuable contributions could be made by such friends of India and of peace as Agatha Harrison and Maude Royden; and by American women such as Dorothy Thompson, who now appears to have accepted the full implications of non-violence and recently founded an organisation



(Photo: Sunil Junah, Calcutta).

M. K. GANDHI, 1869-1948

"A victorious fighter who has always scorned the use of force, a man of wisdom and humility armed with the resolve of inflexible consistency who has devoted all his strength to uplifting his people and the betterment of their lot, a man who confronted the brutality of Europe with the dignity of a single human being and has thus at all times risen superior. The generations to come, it may well be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever walked upon this earth."

—Einstein.

INSIDE

REGINALD REYNOLDS

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

VERA BRITTAIN

DORIS LESTER

ROY WALKER

pay tribute to—

MAHATMA GANDHI

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GANDHI

By Laurence Housman

GANDHI'S Fast was a triumph, a great victory for Peace—the influence, of a single man's devotion to the way of truth, on the minds of millions of his fellow-countrymen committed to a fierce racial conflict, for which there seemed to be no solution. Was his death a defeat? At short range it might seem so; for the immediate result was a renewed outbreak of violence and bloodshed.

But this will not be the first time in the history either of religion or politics, when a blind deed of hatred and misunderstanding, inflicting death on one who had done nothing to deserve it, has formed the crowning-point to a great life of spiritual revelation and service to God and man, and has demonstrated, more than anything else could do, the meaning of that life — its profound and fundamental difference from the general character of the mass-mentality which formed its environment.

That difference was expressed in what immediately followed when Gandhi fell by the hand of his assassin. His last gesture was a gesture of courteous acceptance of the death that had been dealt him by a fellow-countryman and one, nominally, of his own religion; the immediate reaction of the surrounding spectators was a frenzied attempt to wreak vengeance on the murderer. So, at the very moment of his death, in their misguided love for him, his followers forsook his example and teaching; for in that act of violence there was more likeness between them and the man whom they hated, than between them and the man whom they loved. And that likeness and unlikeness applies to the whole world today in its social organisation, and its lack of faith in the power of good over evil.

Gandhi would have wished that his murderer should go unpunished. It cannot be done; we have not the moral background to make it possible; and this wish of the man we love and revere that his murderer should be forgiven must go unfulfilled.

Here, then, we have demonstrated how pathetically and morally helpless we are, without a general change of heart, both individually and in our social structure, to follow the example and teaching of the man whose loss we mourn today as the greatest of all our contemporary leaders in the Way of Truth, which is also the way, and the only way, of Peace.

It is a strange paradox in the problem of human nature, that of this man, whom millions love and revere, and whom many more have now come to respect, we cannot yet be faithful followers. Society is not yet shaped for it: only if we love all men, the good and the bad, as Gandhi loved them, can we afford socially to forgive our criminals, internationally to lay down our arms and renounce war.

When, between the two world wars—the worst wars that the world has ever known—Gandhi came to this country for the Round Table Conference, I had the honour, the greatest honour that has ever come to me, to take the chair at the great meeting of welcome held at Friends' House, London. And to Gandhi I then said, "Mr. Gandhi, you are a strange man: you are so simple that you puzzle people: you are so honest that men doubt

EUROPE

—Unification or Split?

APART from the now permanent troubles with Russia, the Bevin proposals for a "consolidation" of Western Europe are at the moment the most important topic of political discussion. Denounced by the Communists as the British Foreign Secretary's "final abandonment of the last pretence to stand half-way between the USA and the USSR," they are acclaimed by a great number of people as the first real step towards a United States of Europe.

The fundamental conception of such a federation or unification is not new. The first statesman of recent times to think in such terms was Napoleon, the second Hitler.

In both cases the plan was vitiated by the fact that the originators and exponents wanted more even than a merely privileged position for their own countries. Not *prima inter pares* but *prima solaque super impares* was what Napoleon wanted for France, and Hitler for Germany. Yet their ideas were not without merit, and if either of the two ambitions had materialised, Europe would have been left with a simpler struggle than the one we are facing now.

TOWARDS LIBERTY

Better off materially, her struggle—either in the first half of the nineteenth century or towards the second half of the twentieth—would have been a political one for liberation from despotism, almost free of economic complications, and cursed with a much smaller number of nationalistic difficulties than beset us now.

A more advanced conception, which might have become the foundation of a different kind of United States of Europe, was put forward in 1942 by Professor E. H. Carr in his book, "Conditions of Peace." There (on p. 241) we find the significant words: "The urgent need now is to alter not the location but the meaning of frontiers"—the first adumbration in the middle of a war of the lofty theory which sees Europe as an entity, with national frontiers as something of an anachronism whose days must be numbered.

Placing the causes and the meaning of the war against the background of history, and post-war problems under the searchlight of careful analysis, Professor Carr's book created a stir. But it was soon forgotten. The full paroxysm of war madness, culminating in Yalta and Potsdam, was still to come, and in so far as frontiers have been dealt with, it has been done wholly in the direction opposite to that which Professor Carr recommended, with one exception: Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have formed themselves into Benelux.

WAR LEGACIES

In the meantime, with most things in the world going wrong, with Yalta and Potsdam coming to be looked upon as the same kind of war legacies which the Polish Corridor, the Palestine Mandate and an Austria too puny to stand on its own feet were in their time, and with no one knowing what to do about Russia, we are now groping back to the idea of a consolidation which is to begin by Western Europe.

About the economic advantages of such a plan it is hardly possible to harbour any doubts. But there are two awkward complications.

The first is that, despite the fact that the door is to be kept wide open for the Soviets, the new consolidation plan cannot hide its almost twin-likeness to the Churchill Fulton proposals which sounded much more, like a line-up against Russia than like anything intended to promote peace.

The second is that, with a Labour Government in power in Britain which is to take the lead in the whole plan, if there is to be any logic and consistency about it, it must be a plan

you." That is still true: the spiritual simplicity of Gandhi seems utterly out of place in the over-sophisticated world of today: his honesty too uncompromising to form the basis for any practical policy. Yet the sword of his spirit pierces to the very heart of the moral problem with which modern civilisation is now confronted, and unless something of that spirit is accepted and made practical politics, civilisation as we know it may be doomed.

—by—

ROY SHERWOOD

aiming at unification based on socialist principles, whereas America's support and Conservative approval within Britain are both dependent upon the relegation into the background of this, the most vitalising motive towards the whole scheme for all its British labour adherents.

UNITY FROM BELOW

Strongly in favour, on the other hand, of the plan's prospects is the fact that the real start has come from below and not from above; or, to express it in words less susceptible of offending Europe's smaller countries, for once the start towards unity has been made by "smaller" powers, i.e., by Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, which means that it is not handicapped at the very beginning by suspicions that the big powers are merely trying to drag the smaller ones into their cage. As this is written, the Benelux countries are

SALUTE TO GANDHI

IT seems strange that it was on the last occasion when I wrote in this column that I was asking for a generous response as an act of appreciation of the courage of Gandhi and the success of his effort at peace-making. I should in any case have appealed for your help to cover the cost of our meeting in Hyde Park reported in last week's Peace News. We printed special posters and gave away copies of the leading article which had appeared in the New Chronicle. But how much more powerful is my appeal now in the light of all that has happened since. Some may think that because a bull has been able to cut short the life of Gandhi, violence has after all had the last word. We know that it is not so. Dying for his ideals, his idealism with new meaning and intensity. We have a fresh responsibility and new debt. Help us to discharge the last word is with us.

MAUD ROWNTREE, Treasurer

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Path to Serfdom

LAURENCE HOUSMAN'S articles supporting Direction of Labour, ignore the underlying principles of individual freedom. Many in this country have no sense of vocation nor have had the opportunity of developing one. Why should a section of our population be condemned to do work which obviously is not what they wish to do, because they have had the misfortune to be insufficiently educated to rise to the standard of realising a sense of vocation?

Laurence Housman's parallel between Compulsory Education and Direction of Labour is absurd. Education, rightly interpreted, is for the purpose of enabling people to live a full life which can only be achieved in so far as the individual is fully equipped for a vocation in life. Education should enable a person to develop personality and character with a purpose in life and the power to make right decisions. As most of our time is given up to the job of earning a living, how much more essential is it for the worker to be aware of a sense of vocation.

We know that for many today, jobs are so soul killing that those who do them only work for the purpose of earning a living, and in their leisure, in order to kill their boredom they seek an outlet by looking for thrills and excitement. The jobs to which people are directed deny them that full life to which they are entitled. Dare we say that it is justifiable that they should be directed to them? Is it right to deny freedom of choice to masses of our people just to suit the convenience of a Government that is faced with economic problems?

When the Government was confronted with War, they were led to the necessity of Conscription. Pacifists maintained that this was wrong because it struck at the roots of democracy. I consider that Industrial Conscription does the same. By introducing this we are in danger of becoming a nation of serfs, bound to one particular job which is chosen for us.

In mediæval times men were bound to certain jobs and were unable to leave them without permission. We believe that this was deplorable—is it any the less deplorable now? When we lose the right to make our individual decisions, we are well on

the road towards a totalitarian state. We have seen what is happening in E. Europe—illiteracy is an excellent breeding ground for dictatorship. A good educational system is the only way of saving this country from becoming totalitarian. At present many who leave school are only half-educated... incapable of thinking for themselves.

I feel that even if Industrial Conscription is justified through necessity, it is not the solution. Ray Davies said a short while ago that the amount of money being spent on armaments would more than enough bridge the economic gap. He also advocated the closing down of essential industries. Therefore the only alternative to this policy, but it requires more courage to put it into operation.

DOROTHY I. GREEN.

128 Greenway Avenue, E.17.

Words AND Deeds

WHILST appreciative of Robert Morley's activities, and in agreement with much of what Stanley Hayward has written, I am convinced that the comparison between "Words or Deeds," if not odious, certainly often denotes division, with consequent dissipation of energy and effort.

One is reminded of that worthwhile Pelican volume by the late H. W. Nevenson, entitled "Words and Deeds." The latter reflects the complementary punctuality of the two activities. If we are for all that making for more abundant life, and against that which would give us death, then our way is along the road of Freedom—whatever encountered—our means and condition being peace. In this task every person's effort are vitally needed—both "word and deed"—for this struggle and journey is never ended, and the highway never quiet.

S. L. ROBINSON.

Stockend, Edge, Nr. Stroud.

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GANDHI'S FINAL CREED

By **ROY WALKER**

Author of "The Sword of Gold," the most up-to-date English biography of Gandhi.

HOW else could he have died? Death in a fast against war would have been suicidal defeat; death in extreme age an anti-climax. This is world tragedy in which the end is worthy of all that has gone before.

To be cast in such a tragedy Gandhi had to attempt identification with all that lives. Satyagraha is as much the Russian Christianity of Tolstoy, the visionary English communism of Ruskin and the mystical American anarchism of Thoreau as it is the Hindu gospel of disinterested action.

In the crystal of his life we see all these as they are, waves on one eternal ocean. Gandhian vegetarianism is obedience to the mystery and miracle of creation in the non-human realm of nature: "Man, not having the power of creation, does not possess the right of destroying the meanest creature that lives." Gandhian economics and politics are focussed on immediate environment by the discipline of Swadeshi, but the gesture is through the nation to the world, and was made explicit in appeals to Western and Japanese leaders during these last tempest-tossed years.

READINESS TO DIE

"Abstract truth," he said, "has no value, unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it." Gandhi

has shown us proof, even in the final salute to his assailant that touches our hearts with awe, and his truth has passed into the spiritual life of the world as creative leaven.

The implication of this martyrdom for non-violence is world-moving.

HIS APPEAL

Through Gandhi's identification with all that lives he appeals as Jesus did: inasmuch as you do it unto the least of my brothers you do it unto me. The grief-demented Hindus who attack Mahasabha communalists strike Gandhi; Indian police shooting at rioters, or soldiers firing on attacking tribesmen in Kashmir aim fresh bullets at the Mahatma; if India by solemn judicial act executes the assassin she repeats ritually the murder of Gandhi, exposes blind love which Gandhi sternly warned is the most abject and hopeless of slaveries.

But the challenge is equally to ourselves to make final renunciation of violence. Krishna Menon, rising to heights of understanding in his sorrow-stricken address last Saturday, declared us all participants in



WHEN GANDHI WAS IN LONDON

Kingsley Hall, Bow, in the East End, was Gandhi's residence when he came to London for the Round Table Conference on India in 1931. He is seen in the centre of this photo with a group of workers in Kingsley Hall.

Gandhi's murder. But for the restraint of Swadeshi I believe he would have fasted to death rather than live impotent witness of the fratricide of the last World War.

Now that the tides are running towards war in partitioned India—a vivisection from which he alone withheld assent—and now that the West

also is partitioned and driving towards international immolation, Gandhi's survival was impossible; for he was too brave to bow beneath the level of history to which he had been summoned.

The end was apt, its quality symbolic. At Delhi two ways of life confronted each other, and the last appeal was made in the instant of greatest sacrifice. The khaki-coated figure, hands clasped in prayer that we have no right to judge insincere, but concealing between them his lethal weapon, is also a man of courage, of principle, even of self-sacrifice, killing for a cause greater than private grievance, knowing that his own life was almost certainly forfeit, ready afterwards to confirm his act against the whole conscience of the world: it is the figure of the soldier, doing evil that good may come.

Gandhi confronted him. He is a figure of life and love, or innocence and courage, such as the world has rarely seen before, but yet recognisable to all as the humanity to which mankind must rise or perish. Finally, we are either the man with the gun, or the man who salutes the murderer in the name of the unity of all that lives. On this level there is no Third Force; our tragedy is that we pretend there is.

NON-VIOLENCE IN THE WEST

Since the "Miracle of Calcutta" in September and the Delhi fast a few days before his death, there has been fresh talk of using the spiritual power of non-violence in the West. The power was not Gandhi's, his was faith, appeal to the godlike in man, striking fire from the stoniest breast by conviction more adamant. The power blossomed from lifelong and undeviating renunciation of war.

That we have no comparable figure in the West is the measure of our materialism and our peril.

But he will not let us make scapegoats of our spiritual leaders. His non-violence is not for saints alone, "It is meant for the common people as well." They, too, must fulfil the condition which he laid down by the manner of his life and death: "Non-violence is now, has ever been, and I pray to God it ever may be, my final creed for all occasions."

VISION OF CREATIVE LIFE

To turn finally from violence is to face the light of creative living, a reality that by virtue of creativity transcends static definition by the traveller towards it.

I dare do all that may become a man, who dares do more is none.

That vision has been seen many times and lost in lust for power and the neurosis of security. Gandhi dared to the uttermost, and our grief for his death is largely selfish:

Vex not his ghost: O, let him pass; he hates him That would upon the rack of this tough world Stretch him out longer.

The crown passes. Our part is to be grateful for a life in our time more than any of us have deserved, more than seemed historically possible in the murderous interplay of destructive forces and unnatural strivings—to be grateful for the proof that we are not enslaved by our historical environment and, in our degree, to live likewise. Gandhi is still identified with all that lives: if life honours him he lives for ever. Gandhi is at one with life, wherever life is at peace with itself.

Vera Brittain

A life-long champion of Indian Independence, several times invited to address the All-India Women's Conference.

IN the life of the world there are moments—and this is one of them—when some great event, terrible or glorious, calls men from their preoccupation with inessentials, and summons them to confront the deeper realities of their day. These moments are not only occasions for attaining perspective; they are also opportunities to change the direction in which society as a whole appears to be moving.

When the news of Mahatma Gandhi's death was first broadcast on Jan. 30, my daughter said: "It's like the assassination of Abraham Lincoln." But for me there seemed to be a closer parallel, two thousand years old. Western heroes such as Lincoln, however noble, are ready to make war the instrument of their policy. From the East, by contrast, has come that doctrine of suffering love which will accept death rather than use violent means to attain its ends.

The saints and saviours are slain by the unregenerate, for whom they die. When a time-bomb exploded close to him soon after the end of his fast, Gandhi is reported to have asked for leniency to be shown to his would-be assailant. Who can doubt that if he could have spoken in those final moments, he would have prayed for his murderer to the One God: "Father, forgive him . . ."

But that assassin, in causing the Mahatma to become one of the few great martyrs for peace, has laid an enormous responsibility on all those who endeavour to practice the creed of non-violence. Gandhi's task has now become his legacy. More than the Great Soul of India, more even than the patron saint of pacifism in its deepest implications, he and his work represented "that of God" in all men and women. Throughout his long life he was the increasingly triumphant embodiment of that divine impulse which compels men to fight on against the dark forces within them, even though they are conquered by those forces again and again.

We fail but he succeeded, "following through death the martyred Son of God," by Whom the victim of violence became the instrument of its Atonement. By the power of his example, the Mahatma has shown that, if only we will, we can succeed too.

His passing and the manner of it is not only the farewell cry of a great spirit to the peoples of India to compose their differences; it is a challenge to that which is godlike in humanity all over the earth. In death as in life he calls upon a power greater than that of the atom bomb to assume the control of war-weary mankind, and lead it from the dark abyss of hatred and despair to the sunlit pastures of eternal life.

TRIBUTES

Reginald Reynolds

Author of "The White Sahibs in India," who delivered Gandhi's ultimatum to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, on the eve of his "salt march" in 1930.

FEELING still, as I do, the first shock of the terrible news which horrified the whole world on Jan. 30, I find it hard to put into words the thoughts racing through my mind.

I had not seen Gandhiji since 1932, and had but a hope of seeing him once more in this life; yet the news of his death came to me as something intensely personal—more so than any such event since the death of my own parents. In India we always knew him as "Bapu," which is best rendered as "Dad" or "Daddy." And "Dad" he was—the father of the new India, of the new Active Pacifism and of all who became, even to the smallest extent, his disciples.

So, in a sense, many of us did lose a father. And the sense of loss was not only felt by those who had the great privilege of knowing "Bapu" by that name. A friend remarked to my wife a few hours after the news came through, "It's curious how everyone seems to take this tragedy so personally." That, indeed, was something to have achieved in this country, whose successive governments "Bapu" had so long defied. The assassin's bullet may appear to have had the last word, but the thing that stands out most in my own mind is the way in which this frail little old man won the hearts of us all, including those of his "enemies."

The thought of the indomitable spirit, the fire that death cannot quench, is apt to be so trite a consolation on such occasions as this, that I welcome a power of words greater than my own to express what might sound a platitude in other language, as the living truth which I know it to be. Written in memory of another noble spirit, Vachel Lindsay's great poem, *The Eagle that is Forgotten*, comes back to me now, as I try to look into the future of a world deprived of its greatest leader:

Where are those lovers of yours, on what name do they call,
The lost, that in armies wept over your funeral pall,
They call on the names of a hundred high-valiant ones,
A hundred white eagles have risen, the sons of your sons;
The zeal in their wings is a zeal that your dreaming began
The valour that wove out your soul in the service of man.
May it prove true. For as Lindsay wrote at the end of that same elegy:
To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,
To live in mankind, far, far more . . . than to live in a name.

Doris Lester

Of Kingsley Hall, Bow, where Gandhi stayed during his visit to London for the Round Table Conference in 1931.

NO-ONE could be long in his presence without realising that Gandhiji was a man of God, a friend of man and a prophet of peace. Despite the difference in colour, clothing and creed, our neighbours in Bow adopted him quite simply as a brother and as a friend with whom one could talk naturally and easily of one's everyday life or of the things of the Spirit. Of course we recognised the wonderful privilege of having him living among us, but he always seemed one of us.

Sometimes we would join him in his prayers at dawn; sometimes he would join us in our everyday prayers. And we shall never forget the Sunday when he spoke at our Evening Service on "Prayer."

Certain memories of his stay with us stand out in sharp outline; the early morning walks along the mud banks of our canal while most of the world was sleeping; a visit with him to a reception given by Madame Montessori and her students in his honour; the children's friendly delight in him when he visited our Nursery School; his appreciation of the letter* they concocted for him on his birthday and the doll's basket of tiny selected toys that accompanied it, his pleasure in "his toys" which later travelled with him back to India, and his delightful letter* of appreciation written to them from an Indian prison; his visits with us to the small homes of our friends and neighbours; the quiet days when he sat at his spinning wheel; his quiet humour; his appreciation; and his friendly encouragement.

We, here, with his friends throughout the world, deeply mourn his loss, though believing that his living presence will remain with us always as a challenge and an inspiration. His favourite hymn was, I believe, "When I survey the wondrous Cross on which the Prince of Glory died," and it would seem that, though himself a sincere Hindu, he honoured the "Prince of Glory"—Who said, "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends"—in his life, in his fasting, and in his death.

* Published in "Entertaining Gandhi" by Muriel Lester.

All-India Pacifist Conference

MUSLIMS AND HINDUS
SEEK WAY TO PEACE

From HIRALAL BOSE

Joint Hon. Sec. of the World Pacifist Meeting, and PN special correspondent.

THE All-India Pacifist Conference, planned as a preliminary to the World Pacifist Meeting to be held in Santiniketan early in 1949, opened on Jan. 17 at the Friends Rural Centre, Hoshangabad, C.P. The invitees who numbered 32 and included J. C. Kumarappa, Anyanaya Kam, Dr. Kalidas Nag, and Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, were welcomed by Horace Alexander, who spoke of the special responsibility on peace workers in the present situation in India and the world.

On the first day discussions were held on the following subjects:—

1. **The True Nature of Pacifism** introduced by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty: the basis of Pacifism or non-violence was felt to be in that wholeness and sanctity of life which was inculcated by the scriptures of the world. It was pointed out that peace was the normal condition of human life of which war was a violation.
2. **Pacifism and the World Order** was introduced by Anyanaya Kam: In this session it was emphasised that the foundation of a non-violent society must be laid in the home and in the early education of the child, making for a self-reliant society, free from competition and giving equal opportunities to all.
3. **The Extent to which Armaments should be used for Regulatory Purposes** was introduced by Dr. Kalidas Nag. This produced a stimulating discussion on how far pacifists should support an international police force and to what extent individuals and nations were prepared, in a world of violence, to renounce armed protection.

Economics and peace

On the following day J. C. Kumarappa led the discussion on "A Pacifist Economic Programme for India." The main points that emerged were that pacifism entailed a total re-orientation of individual life, for in acquiescing in a predatory economy we were ourselves responsible for the continuing violence of the world order. Both self-sufficiency and decentralisation in the economic field were suggested as essentials of a true pacifist economy. It was pointed out that key industries could be centrally organised as long as they were complementary to cottage industries.

Dr. Hafiz Syed introducing the topic of "The Pacifist Way of Dealing with the Present Disturbances in the Country" said that an appeal should be made to the communities on the basis of the teachings contained in their own scriptures to desist from violence and hatred. This was supported by forceful quotations from Hindu and Muslim scriptures, showing that respect for the religion of others was inculcated by both. We suggested that priests should make it their duty to bring home to the people the true nature of their own faiths.

A Muslim leader, in the discussion that followed, suggested that the abolition of communal schools would do much to break down the barriers between the communities.

Dr. Jesudason of Tirupattur spoke on "Pacifism and the Indian Constitution." It was agreed that the State, while having the power to compel its citizens to render certain public service, should not under any circumstances introduce conscription for the

armed forces. It was further felt that India with its tradition of non-violent resistance, should show the way of peace to the world by renouncing warfare in its very Constitution as a method of settling international disputes.

To all men of goodwill

On Jan. 19, the third and concluding day, the Conference passed the following resolutions among others, which have as their aim the achievement of a society based on Truth and Non-violence. They were addressed to the National Government and to all men of goodwill in India, with the assurance that if faithfully followed out they would help to eradicate violence and the occasions of war and to bring in happier relationships and prosperity. Each resolution should be considered in relationship to the purpose as a whole.

1. We strongly urge that India, standing for Ahimsa (Non-violence) and Satya (Truth), should renounce war in the settling of international disputes and use the method of Satyagraha in meeting aggression, and we further urge that a declaration to this effect be incorporated in the Constitution of free India.
2. This Conference further recommends that the Government of India should organise National Peace Brigades all over the country as disciplined units trained in Satyagraha ready to meet emergencies arising either from within the country or on the frontiers.
3. Further in place of Military Training for Students, we urge that the curriculum include disciplined training in physical fitness, through practical nation-building activities.
4. We strongly recommend further legislation with a view to removing all social disabilities on the ground of caste, religion, race, or community.
5. We recommend that Basic National Education based on Truth and Non-Violence be the norm for the educational system throughout India.
6. Recognising that economic inequalities are one of the main causes of wars and internal conflicts, we recommend that the Government do all within their power to ensure social and economic justice. To this end we urge the encouragement of village industries, and the wider application of the principles and methods of co-operation and industrial decentralisation.
7. We would urge upon all pacifists as well as upon all others who desire to bring about an order of society based on Non-violence and Truth, the need of honest and simple living and the careful scrutiny of all their expenditure in the light of their responsibility for the fundamental needs of others.
8. The Government should abolish capital punishment and introduce such measures of prison reform whereby each prisoner may be treated as a sick person requiring physical, psychological, and spiritual help, aiming at his becoming a contented and useful member of society.
9. Gandhiji has requested that peace lovers throughout the world should unite daily and simultaneously at a definite time in prayer for world peace. He suggests a minimum period of five minutes for this daily offering of prayer. We commend this proposal

AMERICANS PREPARE FOR WAR
—AND PEACE

THE militarisation of the United States, to which Oswald Garrison Villard has repeatedly drawn attention in these pages, is at last rousing concern outside pacifist circles in America.

The appointment of soldiers to high offices ordinarily reserved for civilians, such as that of Secretary of State, Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Moscow; the retention of Admiral Leahy, a sailor at one time in charge of the occupation of Nicaragua, as "Chief of Staff to the President"; the increasing control exercised by the Military over scientific research and even the Universities; the misuse of Boy Scout organisations for recruiting drives: these and other symptoms have been stressed in a strongly-worded protest, signed by twenty-one prominent American citizens, which was published in Washington last week.

The signatories

The signatories include Arthur Morgan, former head of TVA, Albert Einstein, and the presidents of the University of Detroit, the National Farmers' Union and the Northern Baptists' Convention. Sponsored by the National Council Against Conscription, the document reminds the American people the trend towards military control of institutions, now being witnessed in the States, paved the way for Fascism in Italy and Germany.

The National Council has also appealed to Congress to recommit the Bill for Compulsory Military Training, which it describes as "one of the most dangerous bills before Congress today."

Meanwhile, the American Committee on Social Thought has issued a manifesto, entitled "Above All Nations is Humanity," which concludes as follows:—

"The hope of unity and peace lies paradoxically in diversity. If men were identical they would cease to be human. If societies were identical they would cease to be human societies."

Value of peace

"History shows that all nations which have established essentially peaceful relations within their boundaries have gained national community with the help of the integrity and individuality of the various sections, states or provinces, not at the expense of this integrity and individuality."

"This is true of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of France, China, Germany, Japan, Italy, Great Britain. It is true of the smaller countries such as Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden. It is true of the more recent settlers of North and South America."

"International community could be achieved only with the help of the integrity and individuality of all the nations of this planet, large and small. The one in the many, the many in the one, is the eternal principle of union."

"But the will to unite must come first. It must cut across every national boundary, if each country is to enrich the life of others, if even all countries are to continue to exist."

"We the undersigned know that in many men and women this will to

to all who are deeply concerned for peace."

Great concern was expressed over the grave situation in Kashmir and much thought was given to the way in which pacifists might help in peace-making there.

The preliminary arrangements for the World Pacifist Meeting to be held at Santiniketan in January of next year were discussed. Preparatory material will be made available to give delegates coming from abroad a background of the Indian philosophy of Truth and Non-Violence. The list of invitees to this meeting from countries other than India was also considered.

Telegrams were sent to Gandhiji rejoicing over the successful termination of his fast and to Pandit Nehru expressing appreciation of the gesture made by the India Government in unconditionally paying the debt to Pakistan. The hope was expressed that this would help to create an atmosphere of trust and good will.

unite exists. In some persons it is strong, in others weak. But the person who has not felt the need for world unity is rare. The governments of the national states have not given and are not giving, even in word, anything resembling adequate expression to this will to unite.

"We hold out our hands to our brothers and sisters who are everywhere. We ask them to join us not as representatives of nations but of peoples."

"Let us try to form a world parliament, with the help of governments if they respond to our appeal, without them if they fail us. The price humanity will have to pay for the world state, without which it cannot exist, seems overwhelmingly high."

"But the price is supremely simple. It involves the sacrifice of hatred, of pride, of greed, of self-interest, of all particular allegiances. The humblest understand it better than the mighty. It was explained nearly two thousand years ago in language that is universal. That is the language of love, the language of charity. This language includes justice. If the leaders of states cannot or will not speak this language, we the people must."

Among the thirty-three signatories of this manifesto, well-known to people in Great Britain are, Dr. Waldemar Gurian, author of "The Rise and Decline of Marxism" etc., Dr. Arthur Schnabel, Felix Morley, Editor of Human Events, the Rev. A. J. Muste, and Prof. John U. Nef.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Feb. 5, 1938.

I am confident that if a man surrenders his conscience to his idea of community, or to his Führer, it doesn't much matter whether he calls himself Communist or Fascist—he has fore-sworn the element in himself which alone can keep society human. And for want of that element society must and will inevitably grow more and more barbarous. You can see it happening.

—MAX PLOWMAN.

"If the sense of service fades from our culture, liberty goes too, and with it all that we mean by democracy."

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Edited by Roger Page

MY PLAY

MR. GELDER'S article impresses me by his sincerity and fairness. I could wish that some of the professional critics were as eager as he is to do justice to other people's opinions.

But why does he suggest that I confine intolerant people to one party? There is nothing in my play to justify this assumption. I might, of course, point out that although some insufferable fools have, in moments of exasperation, said that C.O.s should be shot, no one in this country, not even the people who make the proposal, has acted on it, nor do I believe that anyone would be allowed to act on it; though I am willing to believe that there are low-grade men and women who would do so, if they could.

Unions and tyranny

Against that fact, I set the fact, admitted by Mr. Gelder, that trade unionists have done what I make them do in my play, and that it is the deliberate policy of, for example, the Soviet, to forbid individuals to do or say anything of which that Government disapproves. The Tsarist Government was a tyrannical one, but it never, at its worst, prevented individuals from publishing attacks on it. Stalin's tyranny does, and justifies its action on the ground that majorities must be right because they are majorities, and that minorities must be wrong because they are minorities.

Mr. Shinwell's celebrated "two hoots" or "tinker's cuss" remark was not an irresponsible utterance. It was the expression of a widely held belief that minorities must suffer. Mr. Shinwell was preaching the validity of force. He had, he said, the power of the trade unions behind him; therefore he did not care a tinker's cuss about dissenters' opinions.

Mr. Gelder is, I think, a little unfair when he suggests that I veer to the Right at crucial moments. I am not a Tory. I would call myself a Liberal Unionist—I am an Ulster man—who was brought up in a Liberal tradition. I was for a time a Fabian. I am now a member of the Society of Individualists. But it would not be wrong of me to veer to the Right if I were convinced that Right is right.

I have, I think, taken particular

On Jan. 9, this feature was devoted to a review by W. H. Gelder of the play "Private Enterprise." We are glad now to be able to publish some comments on that criticism by the author of the play, St. John Ervine. The threatened article on "The Film of Ideas" is therefore held over until Feb. 13. In the meantime readers may care to note the release dates for the film "Cross-fire": London, N. & W., Feb. 9; N. & E., Feb. 16; South, Feb. 23. It will be shown in Leeds during the week commencing Mar. 1.

pains to put my Communist's case fairly. I agree with a great deal that he says about the working-class struggle for rights. I differ only from him in his belief that opposition to those rights was entirely due to cruelty and greed. I believe that it was due, partly, to fear, to lack of means of righting wrongs, to stupidity, to genuine belief, and, in some degree, to cruelty and cupidity. Our feelings are too numerous and involved for us to say that one motive alone has animated any body of people at any time.

It is not incredible to me that the Labour Party in that particular constituency should have chosen a picturesque personality to fight for it in an emergency; and I am surprised that Mr. Gelder, with the case of Sir Richard Acland in Gravesend staring him in the face, should doubt the likelihood I suggest.

Karl Marx's beard

Is my Trade Unionist no more than a man who makes a small joke about Karl Marx's beard? After all, people do make small jokes and are influenced by trifles. I knew H. G. Wells fairly well. He frequently derided Marx's beard. I think you will find jests about it in "New Worlds for Old," or some other book by him. But Arthur Selby, like Wells, has more than that to him, and I have displayed it. He himself says that the difference between him and Bert Snoddy is that Bert thinks there is only one way of doing things, whereas he thinks there are several ways.

Oddly enough, Mr. Peter Ustinov, who is a Communist, informs the readers of New Theatre that Bert is the best-drawn character in the play—the truest to type.

Mr. Gelder is outrageously wrong when he says that Amabel is "too grotesquely overdrawn to be taken seriously." It happens that, this Christmas, I met an elderly woman who might have been her mother, if not herself grown old. One of my correspondents, after seeing my play, wrote to tell me that he had suffered for years from an Amabel. This character is one of the two people in the play founded on a living person.

He is wrong, too, when he suggests

that the C.O.'s speech is "unreal." It happens that I saw the raid described. It was made on this town (Seaton, Devon). The speech expresses my own feelings, which are far from "unreal." The woman who was killed did daily work for us. Far too many people think that a thing is "unreal" because they have not experienced it.

Mr. Gelder is wrong when he says that I can have "little innate sympathy" with a C.O. I have a great deal, although I think that the intellectual basis of C.O.-ism is wrong. This character in my play was not drawn from a living person, but is founded on the conduct of one: a young man for whom I have a deep respect.

Mr. Gelder has treated me considerably, and I am obliged to him. He will, I hope, believe that I wrote my play, not because I wished to press a Tory point of view, but because I wished to maintain my faith in individual liberty. I have not found Tories more ready to consider individuals than Socialists. All majorities are cursed with the passion for oppressing dissenters.

W. H. Gelder writes:

I am grateful to Mr. Ervine for taking such pains to answer my criticism. He makes seven points against it:

1. On the matter of intolerance in politics, he replies for me, since he makes it clear where he thinks it chiefly lies—on the Left; the Russian Government is irrelevant; surely? I make no defence of Mr. Shinwell's speeches; even Mr. Attlee "demoted" him.
2. Tory or not, Mr. Ervine openly veers to the Right (i.e. away from the Left) in his play, and I praised his candour in this.
3. There is no comparison between the Labour M.P. in the play and Acland, who has been in politics for years.
4. I did not say that Mr. Ervine's Socialists were not well-drawn, but that he did not do his political opponents full justice in choosing such examples; they did not even command as much respect and admiration in me, a Socialist, as Mr. Ervine's anti-Socialists did.
5. Amabel: truth may be stranger than fiction; fiction should not seem stranger than truth.
6. I did not consider the C.O.'s speech unreal in its subject-matter, only in the way it was written and delivered.
7. I withdraw my remark that Mr. Ervine could have little innate sympathy with C.O.s.

May I add that I said Mr. Ervine gave us "a most entertaining and stimulating evening," in the hope that people would be thus encouraged to see the play for themselves.

NEWCASTLE CONFERENCE
DEBATES CONSCRIPTIONM.P. protests at
war talk

IN order to promote wider public thought and discussion about peacetime military conscription a delegate conference was called by the Newcastle No-Conscription Council on Jan. 24. Some 70 people representing 25 organisations attended.

Mr. T. Braddock, Labour MP for Mitcham, outlined the case against conscription. The Government wanted to ally the Western European nations to pursue a co-operative economic and fiscal policy, whilst Churchill thought that the object of this move was to have a showdown with Russia. A showdown with Russia meant, however, virtually a threat of war unless Russia adopted a certain attitude. The National Service Act was part of a chain of events in which other links were the setting up of a Ministry of Defence, the re-introduction of ARP, and the expenditure of vast sums on the development of instruments of death, such as atom-bombs, rockets and bacteriological warfare. Wartime propaganda was being carried on in peacetime, and the prospective enemy—Russia—was being marked out by the distorted presentation of the news.

NEW COMMANDMENT

Mr. Braddock appealed to church-people to use their influence against conscription. It did not seem enough to say "Thou shalt not kill—except when Mr. Attlee or Stalin says so."

The women and their organisations were also asked to join the anti-conscription campaign. Women had seen the results of their work and love ruthlessly destroyed by war. To the Trade Unionists, Mr. Braddock stressed the serious diminution in the nation's productive effort which conscription caused. Recent trade agreements with Eastern Europe had achieved valuable economic co-operation, which should be followed up to attain a wider basis of co-operation which would help us out of the present difficult situation.

In the discussion, Bob Morley said that the PPU was bound to reject conscription, which trains young men for war and robs them of their individual responsibility. A Liberal, speaking as an individual, supported conscription as a means of defending things more valuable than life itself, such as freedom. But for conscription, we might have been in concentration camps.

A resolution was drafted, calling on the Government to cancel the imposition of military conscription for the following reasons:

1. Conscription is a fundamental denial of individual liberty;
2. the retention of conscription is a constant international irritant, perpetuating the vicious circle of fear and hostility between nations, and
3. the cost of conscription in manpower and money prevents the nations economic recovery, and postpones the achievement of prosperity and social progress.

It was decided that the draft should be circulated to the participating organisations and a further conference convened later to consider the resolution and decide on future action.

Labour Pacifist Fellowship

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MEETINGS, &c.

KINGSLEY HALL, Powis St., Bow, (Gandhi Memorial Service, Sun., Feb. 8, 8.30 p.m.) Provisional speakers, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Mabel Shaw, Dr. Jangulie, Dr. Shanti Ghosh, and Bow representatives.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 2.30 p.m. Feb. 8: "Conflicting Ideologies of 1948," F. A. Ridley. Feb. 15: "Rocker's 'Nationalism & Culture,'" Gerald Vaughn. Central London Anarchist Group.

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How to defend a United Europe

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

unthinkable apart from the reconstruction of Trizonia; the reconstruction of Trizonia almost equally unthinkable as long as the provisional Government at Frankfurt is granted no real autonomy, responsibility or respect. Yet the emergence of even an effective Bizonal Government is being fought tooth and nail by the French, and will be, until they are given some guarantee that the foreign policy of a re-born Germany will be co-ordinated with that of the West.

It is precisely where political antagonism is greatest that economic unification will be most obstructed, and it is precisely there, of course, that both economic and political unity are most necessary. Another example is Spain. Spain is at this moment angling for a place in the Marshall Plan, but is debarred by the persistence of the Franco régime. Is it not time the democratic Governments abandoned their present policy of weak provocation, and either applied effective sanctions against Franco or else accepted him into their counsels?

Heartily as I detest his régime, it seems to me that if participation in a joint economic policy were made conditional upon the relinquishment of control over foreign policy, to an international authority, nothing would be lost by the inclusion of Spain, and much might be gained, not only economically but politically: for this might be the most effective sanction that could be applied against Franco, dependent as he largely is, like all Fascist Cordillos and Duces, on appeals to nationalist furor.

French approach

HOWEVER, France and Britain are approaching the whole question of a "western union" in entirely the opposite way. France is concerned primarily with economic unification—where there are no political antagonisms; Britain is talking in terms of military pacts.

The French approach is commendable, as far as it goes. A customs union with Benelux would be worthwhile, if hardly epoch-making; a customs union with Italy really valuable: but unfortunately this is less likely. The "New Italy" is already old, and a considerably increased Communist representation in the Italian Assembly is expected from the forthcoming General Election.

Moreover, the French Government itself is in extremis. The devaluation of the franc was enough to jeopardise European co-operation, and the Socialist revolt against M. Mayer's proposals—inspired partly by this consideration—has left the Third Force weaker than ever. If the Third Force collapses, so does the Fourth Republic. France will then either be too preoccupied with her own dissensions to formulate any coherent foreign policy, or else come under the dominion of the chauvinistic De Gaulle.

British approach

THE British approach to "western union" by way of military pacts is not even commendable. It may secure the passage of the Marshall Plan through Congress, but only at the price of identifying it completely with the Truman Doctrine. There

are two ideas that appeal strongly enough to the American people to make ERP a certainty: the negative idea of defence against Russia, and the positive idea of a United States of Europe. By committing ourselves to the latter, we might evoke dollars and ultimate independence; by committing ourselves to the former, we shall evoke dollars and ultimate disaster.

For Europe cannot be defended against Communism by military force. Vis-a-vis Russia and America, Europe today is in the position of Belgium in 1939, vis-a-vis Germany and Britain. In the event of war between the Great Powers, whichever side she was on, she would be literally No Man's Land. The only realistic policy for a United Europe would be neutrality; and if neutrality then disarmament—since if she could not hold her own against one, still less could she do so against both.

A disarmed United Europe might still preserve her values, even in the face of totalitarian occupation, by means of non-violent resistance—at the cost of no more thousands of lives than if she were first atomised in a futile attempt at belligerency. An armed disunited Europe, overburdened with weapons and dulled by conscription, will end up without any values to preserve.

Congress of Europe

IN view of all this, it seems rather regrettable that the Labour Party should have decided to boycott the Congress of Europe, planned by the United Europe Committee for The Hague next May. Does Mr. Attlee really believe that co-operation with Russia is still possible, if only Mr. Churchill is kept out of the picture?

Some there are who cherish this hope, and they will point to the new Soviet proposals for Austria. These proposals, however, if accepted, would leave Russia in decisive control of Austria's economy, and can only have been put forward, therefore, to prolong negotiations indefinitely. They virtually repeat that demand for British and American reparations which made the treaty with Germany impossible.

Troubled waters

IF, however, it is foolish to shoulder a policy simply because it is sponsored by Conservatives, it is even more foolish to embrace one for no other reason. Mr. Bevin is finding this out in the Near East, where his adherence to imperialist precedents has brought nothing but discredit on this country.

His betrayal of Labour's rash promises to the Jews has, it now appears, not even won him the favour of the Arabs. Once again "the cup has been dashed from his lips," with the overthrow of the Iraqi Government on the very morrow of its treaty with Great Britain. By contrast, Russia is in the happy position of being able, by attacking the Moslem oil-regimes, to endear herself not only to the Jews, but to the exploited fellah as well.

The Jews are, in fact, inclining all the more towards Russia as their hope of American assistance diminishes—and Russia will not be slow in taking advantage of their hopes. It is significant that the World Jewish Congress has lately been reinforced by a Central Committee of Polish Jews, which is prepared to mobilise support for the UNO decision on Palestine, provided Congress, in its turn, opposes any revision of the present Polish-German frontier. The Committee is able to point out that a large percentage of the Polish Jews repatriated from Russia has been settled in what was German Silesia. Its chief spokesman, Adolf Bermann, happens to be the brother of Jakob Bermann, Poland's *œil de Moscou*.

Such is the sticky web into which nower-politics entices its votaries. Fishing in troubled waters? Indeed no! Just looking for oil to pour on them.

Many readers have complained of a lack of continuity in Commentary since Middleton Murry relinquished it a year ago. In order to meet their objection without sacrificing the diversity of viewpoints presented till now, we have arranged for this feature to be written in future by Mr. Bruce Odspur on alternate weeks.

At India House

ALL CREEDS UNITE IN TRIBUTE TO GANDHI

THROUGHOUT last Friday evening, a slow procession of mourners filed through the library of India House, London, past the full-length portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, and the table beneath draped in the national flag. On the table stood two bunches of hydrangeas; and burning ghee candles, made with butter-milk from the sacred goats, emitted a faint, oriental perfume. It was as though Gandhi were lying in state in London as well as in New Delhi.

At the memorial meeting held on the following morning were present nearly a thousand admirers of the Mahatma, of all races, colours and creeds, including representatives of the British, Commonwealth and Chinese Governments.

There was a recital from the Gita, by Dr. Prasad Shastri, head of the Santiniketan mission, and from the Koran by Mr. A. A. Omer, a member of the All-Indian Muslim League Council. The President of the Parsee Association of Great Britain, Mr. P. S. Patuck, spoke a few words, and prayers were offered on behalf of the English by Canon W. E. Holland, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. Mrs. Anand, of the Sikh community, also paid tributes in a brief address, to one whose message had united the representatives of all the high religions.

But Mr. Krishna Menon, the Indian High Commissioner, voiced the sense of the meeting most truly, when, overcome with emotion, he declared that not words, but only lives could constitute a fitting memorial.

GANDHI'S IDEALS SORELY NEEDED

- Lord Mountbatten

"MR. GANDHI'S death," wrote Lord Mountbatten in a message to the King and Queen, "is truly a loss to mankind which sorely needs the living light of those ideals of love and tolerance for which he strove and died."

"In her hour of deep sorrow, India is proud to have given to the world a man of his imperishable renown and is confident that his example will be a source of inspiration and strength in the fulfilment of her destiny."

Africans' Message of Sympathy to Nehru

THE following message to Pandit Nehru, sent on behalf of the African people, was signed by Dr. Peter Milliard, President Pan-African Congress; Dr. M. Joseph-Mitchell, Secretary League of Coloured Peoples; George Padmore, Secretary, Pan-African Congress; Richard Hart, Secretary, Caribbean Labour Congress:

"Please convey to your Government and people of India, the profoundest sympathy of all Africans and peoples of African descent, in their tragic loss."

"With heavy hearts Africans the world over join in India's sorrow, and bow their heads sadly before the mortal remains of the world's greatest humanitarian."

"Gandhi's life and work for all humanity will always remain the brightest beacon and inspiration to the African peoples still struggling for freedom."

"We pray that India's future will be worthy of her greatest son."

HELP SPREAD GANDHI'S FAITH

THE popular press has given much sympathetic publicity to Gandhi's non-violent faith, presenting an opportunity British pacifists should not be slow in using. We shall honour his memory and carry on his work by driving home wherever we can the relevance of his principles to the West.

This special Gandhi Memorial Number of Peace News provides perhaps the simplest way of reaching the wider public before its vision of a finer faith has, all too quickly, dimmed. We appeal to every reader to pass on their copy, and to every group and all who can afford it, to send immediately for some of the extra copies that have been printed. We will supply them at 2s. a dozen (post free) and hope this tribute to the greatest of pacifists will be sent to local ministers, political leaders and as many interested people as possible.

Readers wishing for books about Gandhi and Non-Violence are referred to Housman's Bookshop, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., London, W.1, who will be glad to send details of those available.



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